



The Peace Pentagon at 339 Lafayette Street, New York City.

GRANTS/SPONSORSHIPS Nonviolence for social change is not only a process of speaking or writing, but also of acting. Another activity of the Institute is to provide funds to worthwhile organizing projects committed to social justice and nonviolence. We seek to support groups unlikely to attract more traditional foundations, agencies or the wealthy individuals who account for most philanthropy in this country.

In over fifteen years, the Institute has distributed more than one million dollars to activist groups, all due to the continuing generosity of our donors. The Institute Board of Directors considers all the proposals that meet our guidelines and each proposal is assigned to a Board member for individual presentation. Although these grants are small, they have frequently constituted the only institutional support available to these groups.

THE MUSTE MEMORIAL LIBRARY With the help of volunteer librarians, the Institute is preparing its collection for reading room use by students and researchers in the future. Contributions to the library continue and it now contains materials covering the history of the peace movement, labor, social justice and nonviolence—all areas to which A.J. Muste was committed. We continue to seek donations of books to the library and contributions are tax-deductible to the extent determined by a qualified appraiser.

ENDOWMENTS/FUNDS/LOANS/BEQUESTS The Institute has established a modest program to build and manage endowments, either through bequests or direct donations, for our programs and sponsored groups. One such bequest will establish a permanent stipend for student interns at the War Resisters League, the largest secular pacifist group in the U.S. and where A.J. Muste himself was principally involved at the end of his life.

The Institute also seeks to maintain a limited number of donor-sponsored funds where individuals can avail themselves of the administrative services of the staff and work in partnership in achieving shared objectives in charitable contributions. The Institute also accepts interest-free loans of varying duration, managed to generate income for programs or sponsored groups. We continue as a non-endowed organization and raise our operating funds every year.

Contributions and bequests to the A.J. Muste Memorial Institute are tax-deductible to the extent permitted by law.

CITIZENSHIP IN THE FOUNDATION WORLD As the Institute has changed and grown over the years so has the foundation community at large. There are now several dozen foundations operating for the purpose of funding social change organizations. Funded publicly, as the Institute is, or from the contributions of an amalgam of individuals who direct them, they offer new avenues of support for groups whose constituencies have reservoirs of energy but purses considerably less full.

Equally encouraging is the more traditional foundations' burgeoning interest in progressive political and social issues. Though limited by law to support educational or service work, some key institutional funders have taken a keen interest in projects opposing nuclear and conventional weapons; economic, racial and sexual inequality; and civil rights and liberties. These groups have been meeting to explore cooperative efforts that will help insure a better future for all people. The Institute has played an active role in these meetings, introducing nonviolence, alternative economics, and noninterventionism as corollary issues which also merit attention.

In all of this, the approach is not academic, for the issues are not academic. Suffering is real. The danger of war is real. The future is uncertain, very much dependent on how we deal with today's problems. It is our belief that if our problems are approached with courage and creativity, the future will be "liberated" for our children. The Institute is encouraged by the work of its grantees, tenants and foundation community colleagues. Like the movement for social change that it serves, the A.J. Muste Memorial Institute will continue to grow, and will continue the experiments with nonviolence to which A.J. Muste dedicated his life.

SOLIDARITY CENTER
1119 MASSACHUSETTS
LAWRENCE, KS 66044
785-865-1374

A.J. Muste Memorial Institute
 339 Lafayette Street
 New York, New York 10012

- ☐ Enclosed is my tax-deductible contribution to the work of the A.J. Muste Memorial Institute.
- ☐ Please send me the biographical brochure on A.J. Muste.
- ☐ Please send me a list of literature published by the Muste Institute.
- ☐ Enclosed is a list of people who might be interested in the work of the A.J. Muste Memorial Institute.

Name _____

Address _____

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A.J. Muste Memorial Institute

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Photo by Robert Joyce.

*God gave Noah the rainbow sign
 No more water, the fire next time.*

A.J. Muste lived by the rainbow sign, sensing the splendor and harmony in what many saw only as conflict and diversity. Growing up as a young man during the cataclysm of the First World War, when all assumptions of the age of reason were shattered, and barbarism seemed more likely a prospect than human perfection, he committed his life to the complex task of linking social justice with loving non-violence. Where others saw "peace" as a noun, A.J. Muste saw it as a verb, a "way." His commitment to the powerless and dispossessed was total. His personal integrity won him a rare universal respect.

The A.J. Muste Memorial Institute was organized to keep alive the spirit of the man whose name it bears, functioning in his area of primary concern—the exploration of the link between non-violence and social change. A.J. Muste always met the challenge of the present in a direct way, and was exhilarated by the potential of the future. The Institute operates in that spirit: it applies its resources to current social, political, and economic problems, in the hope that the storm through which we are now passing will be lighted by the rainbow, not the fire.

PEACE "There is no way to peace—peace is the way" was A.J. Muste's simple statement of his conviction that the road to peace does not run through the territory of war. Today, the use of violence to achieve social change has laid claim to the consciences of many, in both the Church and the secular community. Violence has been sanctified not only by the American government, with its extra-

ordinary collection of nuclear and conventional weapons, but also by large sections of the radical movement who feel there is no other way of dealing with rigid institutions. The Institute seeks nonviolent ways of achieving social justice and peace. Without passing judgment on those who feel driven to defend themselves through violence, the Institute will explore the causes of violence, initiating programs and investigations which hopefully will lead to the kind of creative actions which will make violence unnecessary.

POLITICAL DIALOGUE A.J. Muste's range of interests was broad, and because of his desire to understand his opponents, he easily engaged in friendly dialogue with those his associates branded "the enemy." He was equally at ease with theologians and Marxists, officials of the U.S. State Department or the Soviet Union, pacifists, anarchists, Communists, Trotskyists — while never compromising his own principles. Once, pressed by friends to explain why he "spoke with the unspeakable," he responded: "I've always tried to keep communications open between radicals and non-radicals... it goes back to something fundamental in the nonviolent approach to life... you always assume there is some element of truth in your opponent's position and you respect him for hanging onto an idea he believes to be true... on the other hand you must try very hard to see what truth actually exists in his idea and seize on it to make him realize what you consider to be the larger truth."

The Institute is resuming the lively dialogues which so captivated A.J. Muste, opening communications with those outside the mainstream of American political or religious belief, bringing together the theoreticians and theologians who may disagree sharply on the course humanity should take, but care very deeply about our common future. At a time when the survival of the human race is an open question, this effort to break down divisions from the past and establish networks of understanding and common search in the present is very much part of the Institute's work.

CIVIL LIBERTIES A.J. Muste's belief in the need for social revolution led him to believe that no State had the right to bind the conscience of its citizens. His voice was raised for civil liberties not as a mere tactic to be picked up and discarded as occasion demanded, but as a basic affirmation of the democratic principle, universal in its demands, applying to all points of view, not only in this country but throughout the world. The Institute seeks to support those programs which, by exercising the freedom of dissent, affirm its existence, and to isolate and expose institutionalized policies which deny us our basic freedoms.

RELIGION For A.J. Muste the roots of nonviolence and social justice were to be found in religion even if, as in his own case, the insights he gained from his religious beliefs led him to a deep respect for Marxism. As a secular organization, the Institute will explore the problem stated by Martin Buber, the problem that haunted A.J. Muste throughout his life, to "find a way to drive the principles of the normative into the hard soil of political reality." It is an exploration that crosses denominational lines, engaging the finest minds in the West, as well as the East, where the greatest "religious-political" leader of the twentieth century was Mohandas Gandhi, a Hindu.

CIVIL RIGHTS A.J. Muste was an associate of A. Philip Randolph, one of the deans of the civil rights and trade union movements, and a mentor to the late Martin Luther King, Jr. Few aspects of American life so deeply angered A.J. Muste as that of racism, a racism that was blatant in the now-dead Jim Crow laws of the South, a racism that was implicit in the social structure of the North. That whole categories of human beings should be judged on the basis of skin color or ethnic background was a fundamental violence to the person — that an entire society could so easily accept the institutionalization of racism was, in the eyes of A.J. Muste, one of the strongest arguments in favor of massive change in those institutions.

During his own life Muste was involved in the defense of the rights of women, but he would be the first to appreciate that this issue is more deeply felt than when he was alive, and would welcome the determination of the Institute to oppose sexual discrimination.

COLONIALISM Always an internationalist, A.J. Muste was on close terms with men who subsequently were among the leaders of Africa — Kenneth Kaunda, Julius Nyerere, and others. He went to Africa when he was in his seventies to help organize protests against nuclear tests which the French conducted in African territory — tests which threatened the lives of Africans and underscored European contempt for Africa. Before his death he had worked with Kenneth Kaunda to help form an international team that might aid Zambia if the British did not grant independence. In his eighties he traveled to Hanoi to meet with Ho Chi Minh, a symbolic meeting of two old men, one committed to the method of nonviolence, the other feeling he had no choice but to use violence, but the two of them united in opposing the United States effort to

assume in Indochina the colonial role France had been forced to lay down. Upon the death of Muste, among the many messages that poured in from around the world was one from Ho Chi Minh, who recognized in his ideological opponent someone who was also his brother and friend.

LABOR The early years of A.J. Muste's adult life were spent helping the labor movement through very difficult times. Today, when so much of the trade union movement seems identified with the status quo, there are men and women who remain committed to a radical vision because they worked with A.J. Muste or carry the same vision promoted by those who attended the Brookwood Labor college which he headed. If A.J. Muste were alive he would be at the side of the militant section of labor. The Institute will seek to affirm the radical roots of the labor movement so that workers now disenchanted with organized labor, or outside the house of labor, can help restore to labor the historic call to organize the unorganized, liberate the unliberated.

THE INSTITUTE'S PROGRAM

The wide range of objectives to which the Institute is committed is clear. Equally wide is the range of tools which will be used. These include some of the following:

PAMPHLETS/PUBLICATIONS Despite Marshall McLuhan's dire warnings, people still read (as you will note you are doing now), still write and ideas of vast importance are still disseminated throughout the nation and the world through the printed page. The Institute subsidizes publication of a pamphlet series comprised of historical and contemporary essays on issues of social change. Covering, among other topics, nonviolent resistance and defense, liberation struggles, racism, sexism, and labor organizing, they place 19th century thinkers next to present day activists. They demonstrate that the threads linking radical pacifist philosophy through the ages are strong and durable. These pamphlets are provided at or below cost to activist groups, schools and colleges, and individuals for classes and discussion groups. So that new generations of activists may be inspired by A.J. Muste's life, the Institute has reprinted Nat Hentoff's biography of him, *Peace Agitator*. To promote dialogue among these activists, in 1985 the Institute published a discussion booklet *Where Do We Go From Here*, edited by Martin Jezer, on the role of the present peace movement. The Institute will continue to publish pamphlets and occasional booklets expanding the materials available on the applications of nonviolence to social change and ways activist groups can work cooperatively to achieve it.

THE PEACE PENTAGON In 1979 the Institute purchased a three-story loft building in the Lower East Side of New York City, and has since then been managing it for the benefit of peace and social justice groups. A combination of several commercial tenants and Institute support allows activist groups to maintain offices at extremely low rents, freeing up vital financial resources for important political work. As the real estate market in New York City tightens, 339 Lafayette Street remains as a "sanctuary" for the Movement.



Pamphlets from the A.J. Muste Memorial Institute series.